1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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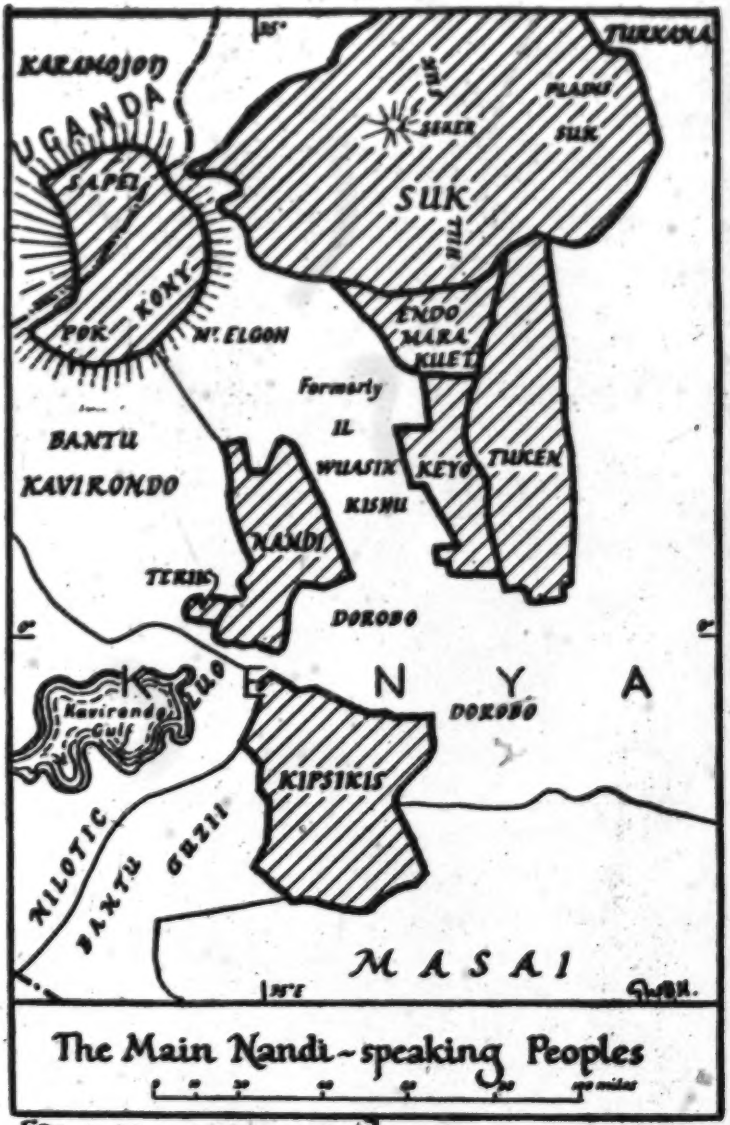

The Main Nandi-speaking Peoples

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1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERIITA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1887 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gilatait*, derived from the Masai *oil-gilata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Turuit*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 202
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93
[4] ∞ Nandi *turur*, " above."

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
F16 Dorobo F16

IL-TORŌBO

PART I

BEING SOME NOTES ON THE VARIOUS TYPES OF *DOROBO*[1] FOUND IN THE MASAI RESERVE OF TANGANYIKA TERRITORY AND CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS

THE name Dorobo is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the Dorobo are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The Dorobo are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,[2] but mainly from discussions with the Dorobo themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbe" Lekite of the Talamai[3] *Il-Mósiro*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the Dorobo. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a Station such as Kibaya, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely

[1] I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain writers would prefer *Andorobo* or *Wandorobo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perforce, at the Dorobo through Masai eyes and the Masai; *Ol-Torôbôni*, *Il-Torôbo*, when shorn of the article, is prefixless. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the European ear.

[2] The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

[3] Talamai (or "Kijungu," as it is called by the Wanguu and Wazigua of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Bantu settlement thereat, mainly Wasukuma) is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa–Handeni road, about 45 miles east of Kibaya Station. Its map-reference is: C 5; Masai Steppe: L II; d; 3, 4. The name Talamai refers primarily to the hills, whereas Kijungu is the settlement.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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by nomads, necessitated the employment by my predecessor of Dorobo as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact once made with these shy and elusive people, whose dormant distrust and fear of the European is quick to awake, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as trackers and hunters.

The early (and not original) discovery that all Dorobo are not alike and that some differ so widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was twenty years too late. Many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dorobo by Mr. Hobley,[1] who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Masai and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe—possibly the *Okiek*[2]—who may have been the ancestors of the Dorobo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dorobo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dorobo differ patently from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Hobley to have been a scattered

[1] *A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, C. W. Hobley (Cambridge, 1910).

[2] Sir Claud Hollis informs me that most Dorobo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 306, s.v. "Tribe," *The Nandi; their Language and Folklore*, Sir C. Hollis.)

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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race "without any great social coherence." This description admittedly tallies with the characteristics of the Tanganyika Dorobo of to-day, but the latter are, even now, violently opposed to fusion with the surrounding Bantu. This may be a charateristic acquired from the Masai, but it does not argue descent from the more accessible and less exclusive *Okiek*.[1]

The name "Dorobo" would seem to have displeased more than one writer on these subjects. As Sir Claude Hollis says, the name has probably nothing to do with the Masai word *dorop* short.[2] At any rate, I have been unable to discover any grounds for the belief that it has. The Masai, when asked, will always say that the Dorobo are so called on account of the resemblance their habits bear to those of the tsetse fly.[3] "The Dorolo," say the Masai, "live in the bush and used to prey on cattle in the old days. The tsetse fly lives in the bush and is one of the greatest enemies cattle have. In many places, Dorolo and tsetse fly are the principal inhabitants of a bush area. What other reason, then, is there for so calling the Dorolo?" While I do not assert that there is no other reason for the name, I think it will be agreed that we are not in possession of sufficient data to justify our writing it down as absurd. The derivation of the name "Dorobo" here given is at least as reasonable as that of the word "Swahili" cited in the last sentence of Bishop Steere's preface to the first edition of his *Swahili Handbook*.

Once it has been definitely established that Masailand was inhabited by more than one clan or tribe of Dorobo, an effort was made to obtain the names by which these clans or tribes were known. The Masai were singularly unhelpful in this regard, and I ceased to question them when I realised that their ignorance was as great as my own. The Dorobo themselves were willing to answer all questions (when encouraged and at a loss for a reply, they proved to be most powerful romancers), but were little better informed than the Masai. After many weary months of suggestion and counter-suggestion, involving the accumulation of a mass of extremely inaccurate information, it appeared that there were grounds for assuming the existence

[1] Hobley, p. 135. [2] Hollis: *The Masai; their Language and Folklore.*
[3] Masai: *En-dorōbōni*; *pl.* *'N-dorōbo*; the tsetse fly.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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101 [124] of the following types of Dorobo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ol-Balafigai	Il-Balafiga
2. Ol-Kinyalafigati	Il-Kinyalafigat
3. Ol-Mósiroi	Il-Mósiro [3]
4. Ol-Médiaki	Il-Médiak
5. Ol-Kisankasai	Il-Kisankasa
6. Ol-Aramanik	Il-Aramanik
7. Ol-Kitokordai	Il-Kitokorda
8. Ol-Kisangara	Il-Kisangara

These names, all preceded by the Masai article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Masai have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Masai idiom. On this it is not possible to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dorobo having been unearthed, it remained to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mósiro* Dorobo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Talamai, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Masai. On being questioned, the *Mósiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Masai, but stated that there were other Dorobo [4] whose language they (the *Mósiro*) did not know.[5]

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[1] I do not call them clans. I think it will be agreed, later, that their relationship is more distant than that between clans or families. On the other hand, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be definitely labelled as distinct and different tribes. [G14]

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the type as a whole. [193]

[3] According to Hollis, *Il-Mósiro* is the name given to a clan of the Chaga people by the Kenya Masai. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Masai of the Tanganyika Reserve.

[4] *Il-Aramanik*.

[5] [It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

2: Maguire C-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

Il-Balaŋga

The *Balaŋga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balaŋga* elder named Payána, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,[1] has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Balaŋga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balaŋga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,[2] and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balaŋga* have no language except Masai,[3] will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. None the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balaŋga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balaŋga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balaŋga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that

Wasanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—A.W.]

[1] The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

[2] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balaŋga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

[3] Except Kiswahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kitēto area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balaŋga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balaŋga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balaŋga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyalaŋgat

The *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Balaŋga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalaŋgat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyalaŋgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except insomuch as it refers to the *Kinyalaŋgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself " originated " in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalaŋgat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalaŋgat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *'l-Oikop*. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle.

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name " Lumbwa " is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kinyalañgat* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

The *Kinyalañgat* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Balañga*. They are good bushmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kinyalañgat* elder of the 'L-ainer age[1] named Mwanamsunde lives at Mtambalo on the Nandeni-Masai border. He is one of the oldest men in Masaland, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-igwenani*[2] by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

I have not written much about either the *Balañga* or the *Kinyalañgat*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'l-Oikop. If this is not the case, I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Balañga* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Mósiro ; Il-Médiak ; Il-Kisankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Mósiro* and *Médiak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

[1] Circumcision of 1874 approximately, according to Hollis.
[2] Spokesman or Counsellor.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Mdiah* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Above*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Mósiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Mósiro* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Talamai. North of L'ol-Kisale I have not met with *Mósiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Mósiro* in the vicinity of Lo-'sokonoi. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Ketu-'m-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Mósiro*, but are *Aramanik*.

Many *Il-Mósiro* are members by adoption of the *'L-Aiser* and *Il-Mólelyan* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marumas* family of the *Il-Meñgana* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Mósiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odoriferous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Mósiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

(To be continued)

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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IL-TORŌBO

PART II

Il-Aramanik

I MUST confess at the outset that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Moipo and who were fishermen [1] by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect.

There are *Aramanik* living with the Moipo Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Balaidge* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Mōiro*.[2] I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Mōiro* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other.

An *Aramanik* named Serkala, of Moipo, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kigogo,[3] from a hole there used to be therein but which has since closed up, near Ol-doinyo-'le-Lepisiek. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Moita and Ol-oitip, but have now come down here to Moipo. Others of us went north to the Serenget' plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their

[1] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fisherman clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Ruvu river valley.

[2] See *Die Masai*, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 119 *et seq.* I think the Dorobo dealt with are *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and *Mōiro* may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 133.

[3] The *Aramanik* name for Kisongo. See p. 130 in *Journal* for January 1918.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekito was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balaigo* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peikya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Moiyo*

[1] See p. 131, fn. 1. The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unconfirmated statements made by certain Masai.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Mátoo* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *kirigi*. The *Mátoo* call it *kirigi*.

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Mátoo*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *h*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This does not altogether satisfy me.[1]

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the 'l-Oitá, Purko and Ol-Ositkitok Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As in the case of the *Il-Máisi*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans—mainly the *'L-Aiser*.

The Masai smiths (*Il-Kwaloi*)[2] had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kwaloo* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far.

Il-Kitókwa; Il-Kisongore[3]

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo

[1] See Merker: *Die Masai*, p. 257. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Masai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

[2] Mainly drawn from the *Il-Kipuyéi* family of the *Il-Mólelyan* clan (*Dublin*).

[3] The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

or whether they are as closely connected as the *Médiré*, *Médiré* and *Kisuaheee*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Wangiu and Wasigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve in 1923, the Wangua and Wasigua inhabiting the Talamai-Gitu-Mtambaio area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara*. Rumour says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Masailand where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wangua and Wasigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kingua and Kisigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Médiré* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Médiré*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni-Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo may be impoverished Wangua and Wasigua, but I think it more likely that they are Nilotic[2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a bushman.[3] The few *Kütukerda* and *Kisangara* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kingua or

[1] They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Masailand, but it may be that different names are used in the Handeni country.

[2] To the west of Handeni Station in the Pangani District.

[3] Perhaps it would be better to say Hamitic.

[4] [But is not this the case with the Bakalahari in South Africa, stated on good authority to be impoverished Bechuana?—A. W.]

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

Kisigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, so far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Baiedga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

DOROBO ARMS

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Méisho*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kikoes), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Baiedga* and *Kiwyaiedgai* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kuanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-pordwe'* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

difficult matter to explain how the *Mósiro* of Talamai pene- 174
trated so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted 534
throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Mósiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre [1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Mósiro* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Mósiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo 101 ●
would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Balaŋga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by 531
the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Mósiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Muran within the last five years or so.[2] Some were [386]
even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kwavi, Gogo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipokondet* (Nandi); *Hocmbi* (*Mósiro*).

[2] When the Masai Muran go into *Ol-pul*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Mósiro*. The duties of the latter are to plait the Masai warriors' hair, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their [648]
reward is as much meat as they can consume.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

101 apparent, but the outstanding dissimilitude, curiously enough, would seem to me to be the variations in the several manners of
194 speaking Kiswahili. The pronunciation of the Kwavi, once heard, is never forgotten. It is nasal and unmelodious, with
[181] invariable pauses after such words as "but" and "and." The Dorobo method is characteristically lazy. Syllables to which the full value could quite easily be given are slurred over for no apparent reason. *Kutapika* commonly becomes *Kuta'i'a*. *Faru* is often rendered *Faoo*—but this may be due to Wanguu influence.[1] The Kiswahili-speaking Masai is more correct and enterprising. He often acquires curious words and expressions, and by virtue of his volubility and his employment of peculiar constructions cannot be mistaken. The Arusha speaks like the Kwavi, but without the pervasive nasal quality.

It is hard to differentiate on paper, but in conversation with representatives of the tribes mentioned the average European ear will not fail to detect the differences after a little experience.

114 *Note.*—I regret very much that owing to my inability to read German I have not been able to refer fully to Merker's well-known work[2] on the Masai, which contains much useful and interesting matter concerning the Dorobo.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

[1] [*Faa* is sometimes heard in Kenya Colony. It is a well-known tendency in Kiswahili—somewhat exaggerated by the Akamba—to drop intervocalic consonants, especially *l* and *r*.—A. W.]

[2] Merker: *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1910).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

my apprentices in the Nandi Industrial School at Kâpsabet; our friendly reception by this elusive people is therefore due to Arap Ngamfigam. We should like to make it clear that this paper is the result of a short *safari*, and intended as a preliminary study, not as a finished and complete account.

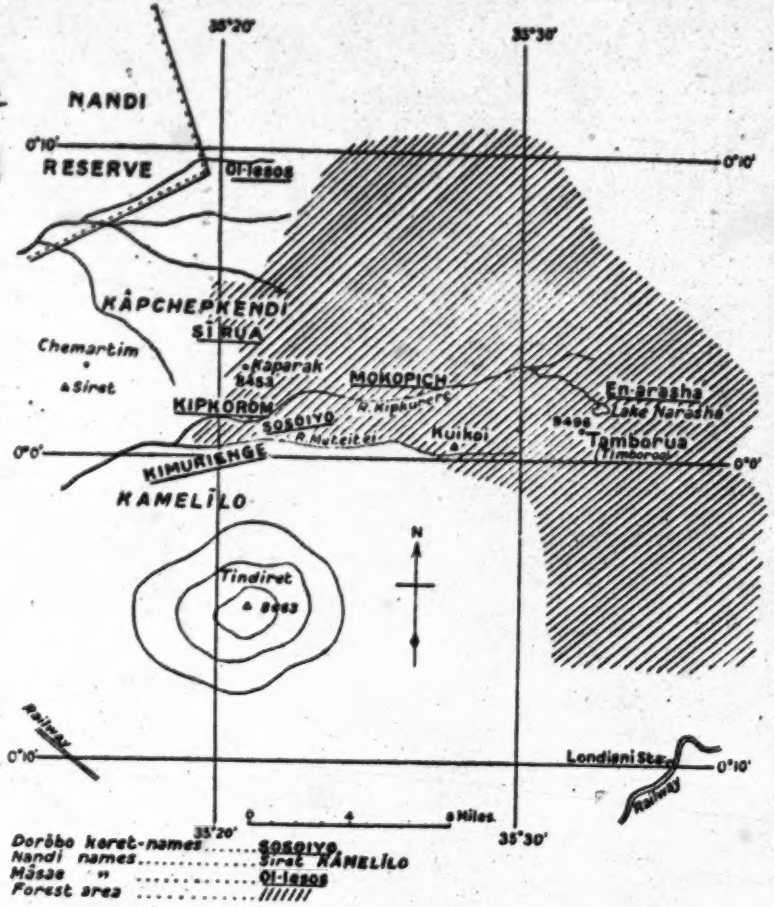

FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE KÂMELILO-KÂPCHEPKENDI DORÔBO COUNTRY.

Both Nandi and Dorobo words are spelt according to the system adopted by Sir A. C. Hollis in his masterly work, *The Nandi*. It should be noted, in the words Okiot, Okiek (stem Oki-), that the k of the stem is semi-voiced, *i.e.* between k and g.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Nouns in Dorôbo and Nandi have two forms for the singular and two for the plural, *i.e.* a primary form, as *muren*, [a] warrior, and *muren-et*, [the] warrior; the characteristic letters of the secondary suffix are, sing., -t (-d); pl., -k. Words of both languages are usually given in the secondary form; primary forms are distinguished by an asterisk, thus: *mpitiko**. When the Dorôbo use a Nandi word, or when the true Dorôbo is the same as Nandi, the words are marked by the letter N following. Mâsae words are marked thus: † (*engerait*†).

References.—H.M. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*; H.N. = Sir A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*.

I.—General Remarks on the Dorôbo Tribes: Their Origin and History.

The people who form the subject of this paper occupy the forest area north of Tindiret hill, above Muhoroni station on the Kenya and Uganda Railway, between lat. 0° 5′ S. and 0° 10′ N., and long. 35° 20′ E. and 35° 35′ E., the country that the Nandi call Kâpchepkendi and Kâmelilo (*see* Text-fig. 1). The Dorôbo call themselves Okiot, pl. Okiek (fem. Chep-okiot, pl. Chep-okiek), by which name they are known to the Nandi. By the Mâsae they are called Ol-Torôbôni, pl. Il-Torôbo (fem. En-Dorôbôni, pl. In-Dorôbo). From the latter form is derived the name by which they are generally known, Wandorôbo. The meaning of the name Oki-ek (stem Oki-) is unknown; the Mâsae name Torôbo may possibly be derived from the adjective *dorop* (pl. *doropu*) (short), in allusion to the short stature of the Dorôbo (*see below*, "Physical Features"), though Hollis (*The Masai*, p. 28, n. 2) thinks that it is not Since the word Okiek is not perhaps as well known as Dorôbo, I have used the latter throughout this paper.

People calling themselves Okiek are found in various parts of Kenya Colony, in forest regions. A list of the sections[1] of the Dorôbo is given by Mr. C. W. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 21, together with a short vocabulary of three Dorôbo dialects. In a note to the same paper, Mr. Hobley adds a list of 48 words of the language of a section called "El Mogogodo," who live near the E-Uuaso Ñgiro, and who are thought to be Dorôbo. Whatever the origin of the vocabulary of the other Dorôbo languages may be, their structure is certainly Nandi; the "El Mogogodo" vocabulary, on the other hand, is apparently a mixture from various sources, among which I can trace Mâsae, Nandi, Turkana and Nilotic (Dho-Luo) words. The presumption is, therefore, that the "El Mogogodo" are not true Dorôbo. The earliest account of the Dorôbo seems to be that of the Rev. J. L. Krapf, who wrote in the introduction to his *Vocabulary of the Enguturk Eloikob* (1854) that "the Wandurôbo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the

[1] Not "clans," as Mr. Hobley calls them.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

105 Wakuafi [Mâsae] do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of African philology." Krapf is, of course, writing of Dorôbo in contact with the 114 southern Mâsae. The latest contribution to the study of the Dorôbo, that of Maguire in the *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xxviii (1928), is disappointing, and marred by an ignorance of Nandi, a knowledge of which is essential in treating of the Dorôbo. 7/A

● 101 The actual distribution and sections of the Dorôbo in Kenya and Tanganyika are as follows:—

Kenya Dorôbo.

[197]

1. Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi.	In contact with the Nandi-speaking tribes of Nandi, Kamasya, and Kipsikis.
2. Lo-'l-diani.	
3. Ravine.	
4. East of Kipsikis.	
5. Chepcharwanek, Kamiek, and Kipkunerek, on the Mau escarpment.	In contact with the Mâsae.
6. Salêta.	
7. Kidong.	
8. Digiri.	In contact with Kikuyu-speaking tribes.
9. Sisiwek and Lalariok, N. of Mt. Kenya (E. Uaso Ñgiro).	

Tanganyika Dorôbo.

10. Taturu,[1] lat. 5° S.
11. Mosiro.[2]
12. Aramanik.[2]

197 All these sections speak dialects of Nandi, irrespective of the linguistic groups with which they may be in contact. The possession of a Nandi dialect seems to be one of the criteria by which true Dorôbo can be distinguished. (Sketch-map, Text-fig. 2.)

174 The origin of the Dorôbo is uncertain. Those of the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi group do not differ noticeably from the Nandi in physical character, except in one or two details, which are probably due to environment; from this we cannot, therefore, derive much help. Mâsae and Nandi traditions point to the Dorôbo having been found by them where they are now, when they first came into this part of eastern

[1] J. T. Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, p. 188; G. W. B. H. in *Man*, 1928, 130.
[2] R. A. J. Maguire, "Il Torôbo," in *Journ. African Soc.*, xxviii, pp. 127, 240.

7/A [See source number 2, this file--analyst]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Africa; in the Mâsae story called "Naiterukop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorôbo (H.M., p. 266); and in the Nandi story "Tapand' ap emet" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorôbo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorôbo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these stories.

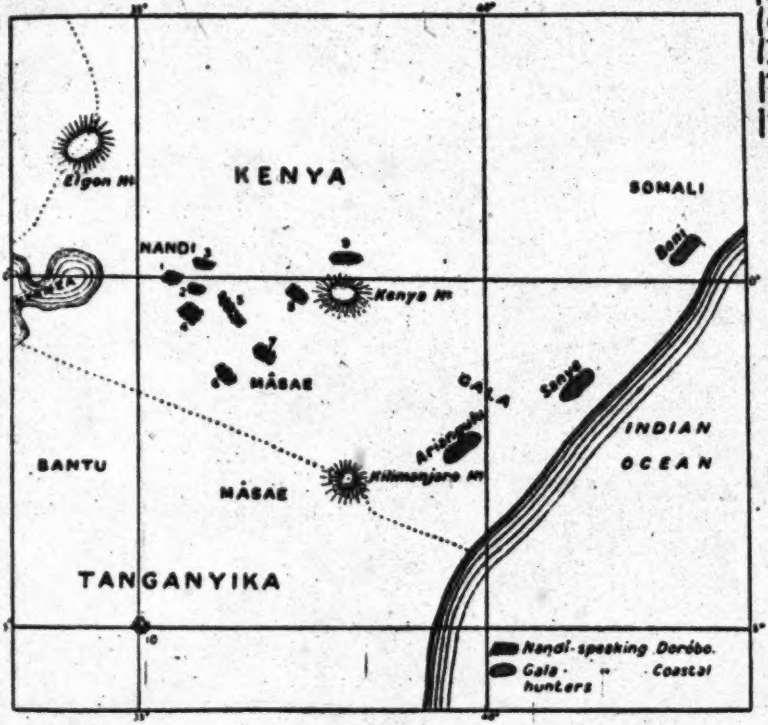

FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF EASTERN AFRICA, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NANDI-SPEAKING DORÔBO.

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 98) a tradition of the Moi clan, that a Dorôbo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo the chief clan is the Moi or Koñgonyot. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorôbo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Sanye and Ariangulu have been in subjection to the Gala, and speak dialects of Gala; the Bōni hunt for the Somali. They call themselves Watta or Watwa (the Gala call the Sanye, Wanya, pl. Watwa), which is also the name of a hunting people in Abyssinia who speak Gala but have also a language of their own.[1] They count themselves as the original inhabitants of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Watta, the Sanye, Bōni, Ariangulu, Midgan of Somali, together with the Dume N.W. of Lake Stephanie, and the Wapare of Kilimanjaro, are claimed by R. Biasutti[2] to be connected with the Dorōbo. And it is not impossible to identify the people called UAUAT in the "Inscription of Una" (VIth dynasty, King Pepi I) with these modern Watta, of which the stem is possibly WA–, and the T a plural suffix. If we may accept this identification, the traditional antiquity of the hunting tribes is confirmed.

The old men give the following account of their past history:—

Ka-ki-menye	uli-tok	korosue-chu	olekinye-tukul,	kimi
We-dwelt	here	countries-these	of-old-always,	there-were
Meek	komaa-i	kewanni	ak	Ipkwapek	komaa-in
the-Nandi	side-this	open-country-this	and	the-Uasin-Gishu-Maasae	side-that
ellgatet.	Olekinye	kimi	Kâpcheptuen	ulin-po	korosue-chu	tukul
the-plain.	Of-old	there-were	the-Sirikwa	there-of (-at)	countries-these	all
ulin-bori	po	Soiin[3]	ko-pet-yo	keny.	Ma-ki-sue	kiit'-ake.
there-down	is	Soiin	they-are-lost	long-ago.	Not-we-know	thing-other.

["We have always lived in this country; the Nandi were on one side, in the open country, the Uasin-Gishu Maasae on the other side in the plain. Of old, the 'Sirikwa' lived in the plain of Soiin below. We do not know anything else."]

At the present day the Kâmellio-Kâpchepkendi Dorōbo do not seem to be very numerous or very flourishing. A number have left the depths of the forest and live on the edge (*saangutiet ap samak*). They assign as their reason for leaving the forest, the hardships consequent upon an epidemic of disease (*koroita*, N.), which was probably small-pox: the elders of the Kâplelach age say this happened when they were warriors, *i.e.* somewhere about 1895, when the Maasae suffered heavily from this disease. When we visited Dorōbo huts in the forest, we were told that there were very few huts in that part of the forest. I suspect the Dorōbo like to make it seem that few live in the forest.

[1] E. Cerulli, "The Folk-literature of the Gala of Southern Abyssinia" (*Harvard African Studies, III*) p. 200; Massaja, "I miei trenta cinque anni di missione nell' alta Etiopia."

[2] *Boll. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, Roma, s. 4, vol. vi, p. 175.

[3] Soiin was one of the Nandi emotinuek, or "counties," which was cut off after the Nandi Punitive Expedition of 1905. It included the Dorōbo country, and also the plain at the foot of the Nandi escarpment from Muhoroni to Kibos, which latter area the Nandi still refer to as Soiin.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Dorôbo.	Nandi.	Botanical Name.
susuek (" grass ")	sekemetyet	moss.
taptet	setyot	
teet	tarakwet	*juniperus procera.*
tegeltît	indakariat	*acanthus arboreus.*
tenstwet	tenduet	
tepengwet	tepengwet	*emilia integrifolia.*
teresyat	teresyat	
tiinet		
tilolwet	tilolwet	bracken.
tyemnowet	chemnoet	

VIII.—List of Tribe Names.

Dorôbo.—Okio (Okiot); pl., Oki (Okiek.).
Elgeyo.—Keyo (Keyot); pl., Keyu (Keyek).
European.—Asungio (Asungiot); pl., Asungu (Asunguk.).
Kavirondo.—Lemin (Lemindet); pl., Lem (Lemek).
Kipsikis, Lumbwa.—Kipsiktsin (Kipsiktsindet); pl., Kipsikis (Kipsiktsiek). il-Kakesant.
Màsae, Uasin Gishu.—Ipkwapcho (Ipkwapchot); pl., Ipkwap (Ipkwapek.).
Nandi.—Meyuo (Meyuot); pl., Mee (Meek).[1]
" Sirikwa."—Kâpcheptuen.

IX.—The Physical Features of the Dorôbo.[2]

By the Hon. P. L. O'Brien, M.A.

The physical features of the Dorôbo are not particularly distinctive, nor do they differ to any great extent from their neighbours the Nandi. There are, however,

[1] It is curious to note that this word is applied by the Suk to the Dorôbo; by the Nandi to any agricultural tribe; and by the Màsae to the Bantu "savages." It has no connection, as is sometimes thought, with the N. Lemek = "the Kavirondo peoples in general," the stem of which is lem-, and the real meaning "boy."

[2] For physical types, see Pls. XXVI-XXVIII. These photographs were taken by the Hon. P. L. O'Brien.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

144 In conclusion, I do not consider that the physical characteristics of the Dorōbo throw much light upon the controversy as to their origin. These characteristics tend, if anything, to indicate that they are a Nilo-Hamitic race, which has been somewhat altered by environment.[1]

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101 114 [1] In the foregoing paper no remark has been made as to the "false" Dorōbo. There are a large number of people of all sorts of tribes, who have taken to the woods, and live as outlaws, mostly on account of some misbehaviour. The numbers of true Dorōbo have probably been swelled also by people from the tribes next to whom they dwell, *e.g.*, Masai, Nandi, etc. But these additions to the numerical strength of a section are by no means Dorōbo, though they may be so in name. And I cannot accept Merker's view of the origin of the Dorōbo. (*Die Masai*, pp. 6-9, 221, etc.; Miss Werner's review of Hollis, *The Masai*, in *Man*, 1905, 62, p. 100.) Merker's work is not, I believe, very reliable, and he seems to be a rather prejudiced observer. The physical characteristics which we have noted may, perhaps, be taken as one indication among others that the Dorōbo we met were true Dorōbo, and not outlaws of other tribes. The effects of environment are not likely to make themselves visible in a few years only. The fact that three Dorōbo vocabularies (luckily recorded by Mr. Hobley, *loc. cit.*) show that the true Dorōbo language is similar to Nandi in structure, may, I think, be taken asome evidence against those who maintain that the Dorōbo of Mau, E-uasoñgiro, Kenya, Saliṭa, etc., are formed mostly of outlaws from neighbouring tribes.—[G. W. B. H.]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

I. Introduction
II. Kinship
1. The Third Ascending Generation
2. The Second Ascending Generation
3. The First Ascending Generation
4. Own Generation
5. The First Descending Generation
6. The Second Descending Generation
III. The Family and Behaviour
1. Family life
2. The Age-Set system
3. Behaviour
IV. The Clan
V. Marriage.
1. Circumcision
2. Pre-marital sex-life
3. Marriage
4. Birth
5. Adultery and divorce
6. Polygyny
7. Names
8. Marriage with Nandi

I. Introduction[1]

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

[1] This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Tindiret Forest area between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1927 was still remembered, and in 1938 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, in which I was greatly helped by one Arap Mining, my guide in 1927, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that I may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard and the late Dr. C. G. Seligman, for help and encouragement. I wish also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. Cockman and E. G. Whittall for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1940.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

are borrowed from the Nandi. But all the available evidence indicates that they are not of Nandi stock, and that in fact they are not related to any of the present inhabitants of the East African highlands.

A Dorobo group cannot strictly be called a tribe, for among other things no group seems to call itself by a distinctive name: they are merely *Okiek* to themselves and to the Nandi. The term 'group' is not a satisfactory substitute for 'tribe', and the least ambiguous word available seems to be 'horde', by which we shall accordingly designate each of these scattered groups of hunters. The Dorobo horde has not developed the tribal spirit which is so marked in neighbouring tribes, though there is a certain amount of horde spirit — enough to keep each horde to its own territory and to mind its own business. But to strangers, the Dorobo emphasizes that he is a Dorobo rather than, say, a Masae or a Nandi. This absence of distinctive horde-names means that we must devise names to designate particular hordes. Such names may readily be found among the place-names of the areas concerned; and so long as we remember that they are merely convenient labels no harm will be done, and the task of distinction between hordes will be made easier. For the horde which we are now about to describe the name Kipkurerek seems the most appropriate, for it is the name of the chief river in their forest, and has, moreover, already been given currency by HOBLEY, who used it in 1905.

The Dorobo call themselves *Okiek*, singular *Okiot*, by which name the Nandi also call them. The Masae speak of them as *Il-Torobo*, singular *Ol-Toroboni*, from which is derived (through Bantuized forms) the name *Wandorobo* or *Andorobo* by which they are often known. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there are fifteen Dorobo hordes in Kenya and Tanganyika, which may be classed in four major groups, three in Kenya and one in Tanganyika:

Group	Horde	Now or formerly [a] in contact with	Territory
I. Western [b]:	1. Kipkurerek	Nandi	Kenya
	2. Tindiret	Nandi	Kenya
	3. Lo-l-diani	Nandi	Kenya
	4. Ravine	Nandi, Tuken, Keyo	Kenya
	5. Western Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
	6. Eastern Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
II. Central [c]:	7. Dundule	Masae	Kenya
	8. Saleta	Masae	Kenya
	9. Kidong	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
	10. Digiri	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
III. Eastern [c]:	11. Kisima	Masae	Kenya
	12. Mt. Kenya	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
IV. Southern:	13. Mosiro	Masae	Tanganyika
	14. Aramanik.	Masae	Tanganyika

[a] I. e. before the arrival of Europeans about 1890.
[b] Remnants of these still remain in places in the western area.
[c] Recorded by THOMSON (1883) and HOBLEY (1905).

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101
631
331
133

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masae of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masae.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. SIR HARRY JOHNSTON believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masae who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masae group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masae and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ariangulu, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VI[th] dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

However this may be, both Nandi and Masae regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masae version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover HOLLIS quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race[5]. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise stated, with specific reference to the Kipkurerek horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the present Nandi Reserve[6]. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

[5] HOLLIS: The Masai, p. 266; The Nandi, pp. 98, 111.

[6] I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

D JA 133 [312]

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kameon and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

D JA [221]

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

D JA 137

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamoja from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

D JA 103

The term Karamoja District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as Jie and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodotho).

D JA 101 131

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamoja District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlaw Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karomojo.	Area.
Ngi'muno	Magosi (to Moroto).
Ngi'maziniko	Moroto
Ngi'tepes	„
Ngi'pian	Mani-Mani and Kilim
Ngi'kadama	Debasien Mt.
Ngi'tome	Bakora
Ngi'mosingo	„
Ngi'ngoleriet	„
Ngi'merimong	„
Ngi'kopo	„
Ngi'pei	„

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ngi'rengen	Jie central.
Ngi'kotianga	„ „
Ngi'watia	„ „
Ngi'kotido	„ „
Ngi'panyangara	„ „
Ngi'owtakow	„ „
Ngi'silanga	„ „

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
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(3) Dodotho.	Area.
Ngi'nkorikituk	Loyoro
Ngi'meris	Tuhuli-Tuhuli
Ngi'tiiti	Chibak
Ngi'kasimeri	„
Ngi'teuso	Pula-Pula

(4) Nangiya and Niporen :—Area, Lomalil Hill.

D J A 101

For a reason to be stated shortly, two important subdivisions, one of the Jie people and another of the Karamojong, do not appear in Capt. Chidlaw Roberts' list; nor is mention made of a highly interesting folk calling themselves Dorobo (Wanderobo) who live on the Karamoja-Turkana escarpment, north of Kameon.

The people are very similar both in appearance and dress throughout Karamoja, and it is difficult to discover their tribal relationship. According to one tradition they and the Turkana folk were originally one great tribe, and their present dissociation is due to disputes over grazing-ground rights; while some aver that the tribes were always distinct and separate. But, inasmuch as it is found that considerable differences exist in important matters of procedure and belief the Karamojong, Jie, Dodotho, and Dorobo are herein regarded as separate tribes.

3.—THE LABWOR

A 133

(1) *Environment.*—The Labwor hills are situated on the western border of Karamoja and are unlike those of the rest of the country (except those of Nakwai, that lie a few miles to the south-east of them) in that water can be obtained among them all the year round. On this account the history of the inhabitants differs from that of what may be called the more typically Karamojan tribes. (*See* map p. 189.)

A 142

(2) *Physical Characteristics.*—The people of Labwor though decidedly Karamojan in physiognomy and build, and typically so in dress, appear to be somewhat mixed in type. Of recent years they have intermarried to some extent with the Acholi and have acquired a little of their astonishing high spirits. The figures in the accompanying plates (Pl. XIX-XXIII) will give a better idea of the appearance of these people than a verbal description would do.

A 361 343

(3) *Mode of Life.* (a) *The Village.*—In construction the Labwor village (*gang*) is almost exactly that of the Lango as described by Driberg,[1] except that it is enclosed by a palisade (*kyel*), and that the grain stores (*daero*) are not ornamented.[2]

A 291

(b) *Dress and Adornment.*—The first point of difference that strikes one between the Labwor and their neighbours, the Acholi, is their mode of dress. Among the latter the men are seldom completely nude and the women very generally so, except for a few beads or a diminutive apron; among the Labwor, however, the men go about practically naked while the women are more or less clothed.

[1] *The Lango*, London, 1923, p. 71.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, plate opposite p. 112.

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58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo chose to stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skillful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwimbi at the present time Mwathi signifies a Mwimbi who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwimbi, while Dorobo signifies a Mwimbi (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

8-Lambert-G G-6 (ca. 1935-1949) 1950 F18 Dorobo F18

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in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Marakwet, Chilchiaraguta, Buru, Dorobos etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /15/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior clan of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their connections with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Kamba Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tame fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Ani and the Kikuyu call them Adai. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adai."

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The "Dorobo Committee" of 1929, appointed to investigate and make recommendations regarding accommodation for the various sections of the Dorobo, defined the word as a general term including many kinds of hunting people, who were usually in scattered families with no tribal organisation, were generally known by the name of some river or hill where they were found, and were pre-tribal and pre-pastoral. 101

80. The Kenya Land Commission was presented with at least two lengthy memoranda on the subject. One was that of Mr. G.W.B. Huntingford, the Local Correspondent for Kenya of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Mr. Huntingford, inter alia, said:

> "The hunting tribes who live in various forest regions of Kenya Colony are termed collectively Dorobo, or, in their own language, Okiek ... The Dorobo are the nearest approach to aboriginal inhabitants to be found in Kenya ... The Dorobo are not as other tribes. They are by far the most primitive in Kenya, and incredibly shy."

In another memorandum Mr. Huntingford gave his views as to Dorobo relationships:

> /11/ "The Dorobo are members of the race of hunters to which belong also the Watta or Wat of Abyssinia, the Sanye Segeju of Tanaland, the Boni of Jubaland, the Midgan of Somali, the Ariangulo[1] of the Taru Desert, the Dume of Lake Stephanie,

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1. This is apparently a Bantu word meaning 'Water buck Eaters'. They are possibly a sub-section of the Nilgiri section. But cf. Hobley in Kenya: From Chartered Company to Crown Colony: "... while camped at the Taru waterholes, we got into touch with a curious tribe, generally known as the Wa-Langulo, this being a nickname given to them by the Bantu Samburu tribe which means 'those who eat pig'. The Wa-Langulo are really serfs to the Galla; farther north they are called the Wa-Sania, and their language is a dialect of Galla. They are a hunting people and roam about in the arid hinterland which lies behind the coastal belt from the Tana River to what was then the Anglo-German border. If they shoot an elephant one tusk is given to the Galla chief."

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and the Wapare of Kilimanjaro. The Watta may be the same as the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VI Dynasty), though certain Italian authorities think the final 't' may not be part of the root. But the Galla call the Sanye Wanya, plural Watwa[2], which may show a stem Wa-, with a plural suffix in 't'; if we can accept this, we may see in Uauat a reduplication of the stem Wa with a suffix 't', and if we may identify the Watta with the Uauat, we have historical evidence of the antiquity of the hunting tribes, and confirmation of the Nandi and Masai view that the Dorobo are the autochthonous inhabitants of Eastern Africa." 101

The following is extracted from a memorandum submitted by Lt.-Colonel H.F. Stoneham, C.B.E., F.R.A.I.:

"There seems little doubt that the greater part of Eastern and Central Africa, from the coasts to the Congo forests, was inhabited in early times by short dwarflike peoples akin to the Pygmies of the Congo forests and the Bushmen of South Africa. As a result, first of Bantu invasions, and later by invasions of Nilo-Hamites, these little people have been split up, exterminated or absorbed in and by these later arrivals, and we now find in various parts of the country remnants of them only, some having adopted the speech and customs of the invaders either in part or whole, and all of them living lives of hunters in the hills and forests, few owning property except dogs. Thus most of those met with today are of mixed origin. Perhaps the best known are the Dorobo (El Torobo or dwarfs). The Dorobo, like the Agumba and cognate peoples, are hunters ... 174

2. This would connect the Sanye with the Twa. But the peoples of the northern coast identify the Sanye with the Dahalo and consider the Twa a separate people.

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All that denotes is that, in a very general sense, they have a common culture. All the tribes in the Land Unit, except the Embu and Mbere, told the 1929 Committee that they were in that stage of culture too not so long ago. 174

62. Somewhat different groupings of tribes and sub-tribes into peoples descended from the original Dorobo tribe were given in evidence before the Land Commission by another authority, Mr. Cardale Lock, based on information he had acquired by reason of his position as "a chief elder in more tribes than one". He said:

> "As a result of my researches, I find that the Dorobo are perfectly correctly the original settlers of this Colony, and their history goes back thousands and thousands of years. The Dorobo are a people, not always a part of a people: the Dorobo are the people whom we know as Dorobo all through Masai and Kikuyu, but when we come up here" (i.e. in the vicinity of Kitale) "the Dorobo is not a Dorobo any longer in the same way. Old Arap Kasisi and his tribes and these tribes on Elgon are also the original Dorobo ... Of the Masai, another lot were originally Dorobo, viz., the Kabti and the Matabattu ... There are three groups ... the Mokeseru, the Mamasita and the Tarneero or Daithero. These three peoples were original inhabitants, and, vanquished by the incoming Masai, were incorporated and grouped under the division of the Masai called the Mulelyan, together with the L'Aiseri and the Mengama, who wandered in from the north, and fought here on the borders for a very long period, eventually making a breach in what are called the Dorobo, who are the original tribes, of which the Sogidu and the Kisii appear to be sub-tribes. They all belong together ... The three first-named peoples came from the Coast and claim to be of the same descent as the Arabs; they came up here and mixed with the Dorobo ... Arap Kasisi is of royal blood; I know him well, and can trace his pedigree back for hundreds and hundreds of years ... (Arap Kasisi's tribe) have owned Elgon for thousands of years ... He belongs to the group [101] [101]

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intravenously by wholesale rape rather than transfused by peaceful penetration, raised a type of humankind (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little in general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it interests them, can claim some small degree of aboriginality in both. 174

64. Dr. L.S.B. Leakey told the Land Commission:- 101

> "... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the nucleus of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in this country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that nucleus you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribes and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu ... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..." [197]

65. Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Il-Kunono of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Karura repudiate this and point out that there were no smiths among them and that they bought their spears and iron implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumba blend. In Facing Mount Kenya he writes: 174 [325] [439] 174 144

> "... soon after the Gumba had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of hunters known as Ndorobo or Aathi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

/63 cont'd/

It would seem that the Il Imwesi, though known to European settlers as "Meru Dorobo", affected the Meru very little. They were squeezed out of Katheri by the Meru and then out of the Loldaigas and the Lewa area by Europeans. They were moved back to the Meru District about 1925 and out of it again some twelve years later. 194

71. Dorobo and Mwimbi

The Mwimbi told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo used to come and go, and the implication was that there was little contact between the two tribes. It was, however, generally believed that their spokesman himself, Mbogore, had Dorobo blood in his veins. The Mwimbi failed to mention the Mwoko (Mukoko), who were possibly, according to Mr. Gurney's account, connected with them. They are noticed here because it does not seem too far-fetched to identify the "ancient Mukoko" of that account with the present Mukogodo of Nyeri District, and these Mukogodo claim, according to Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum to the Land Commission, to be pure Dorobo, though the "Dorobo Committee" reported that they were said not to be Dorobo at all, but a separate tribe living on and around the Mukogodo hills and believed to have been there from time immemorial, and that there were two sections of them, a stock-owning section who lived on the plains, and a stockless section who lived on shelves in the hills. The former might well be of the type the Meru encountered on the Tigania plains and fill Mr. Lindsay's description of the Mukogodo as "probably of Galla origin", and the latter may be true Dorobo hunters and identifiable with the Mukoko of Mr. Gurney's account. If so, one must suppose that the Mukogodo afford another instance of a symbiosis between a pastoral Hamitic tribe and a forest-dwelling hunting Dorobo type. Mr. Huntingford[2] expresses doubts about the Mukogodo similar to those of the "Dorobo Committee" and remarks: 648 101

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1. Memorandum submitted to the Land Commission.

2. loc. cit.

/63 cont'd/

"There are nine groups of true Dorobo in Kenya Colony, and a tenth, called Il-Mukogodo, who do not appear to be true Dorobo."

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That the Mwimbi had a good deal more intercourse with the Dorobo or the Mwoko or both than they are prepared to admit in open baraza seems to be indicated by the fact that the Meru proper associate the Mwimbi with the Dorobo and call the Il-Imwesi the Mwethi or the Mwimbi Dorobo, and say that the present Mukogodo, whom they sometimes call Mokuru, contain numbers of Mwimbi Dorobo and some Mwimbi who went off with them. A Mwimbi elder told me (not in open baraza) that not long ago there were Dorobo living close to the Mwimbi and trading skins with them for grain. Their leader was named Thiathui or Chachui and he went off somewhere to the north with most of his people.

[439]

/64/ 72. Dorobo and Chuka, etc.

There is very little evidence of any contact between the Dorobo and the Muthambi, Chuka, Embu or Mbere tribes. No doubt there had been such contact in the past, but possibly it was so long ago and so slight that any memory of it had faded before the European occupation. But that the minor tribes know of the Dorobo is evident from the fact that they distinguished them from the Gumba in answer to Major Orde Browne's enquiries. It may be that the east and south-east of the mountain had not been occupied by the Dorobo at all or, more probably, that there was so little distinction between the minor tribes and the Dorobo in general culture and appearance that the latter left a less lasting impression on the tribal memory than the very much more primitive and strikingly different Bushmen. None the less there is credible evidence (not advanced by the Embu) of a Dorobo settlement near Manyatta Camp in the Embu District about the beginning of the present century, and that there were Dorobo in Mwea, not far from the territories of the Embu, Mbere, Gichugu and Ndia, in the vicinity, in fact, of two of the most important sacred groves of the two former tribes, is suggested by

/64 cont'd/
a statement made by Kivoi and recorded by Krapf in his Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa to the effect that he (Kivoi) was going to "Muea, in the Wandurobo country". 648 101

73. The Tharaka say that they used to see Dorobo in the old days, but they seem to have had little if any contact with them. They call them Antorobo, the singular of which is Ntorobo, or, using the common convention for the recording of Meru names, M'Robo, that is, Muntu wa Robo, "person of Robo".

74. Dorobo and Gaki Kikuyu

A note in the Nyeri Political Record, referring to January 1911, states:

> "The District is divided up into agricultural, pasture and forest land. The agricultural portion is densely populated with natives. The West Kenya farms comprise the greater part of the pasture land while the forests are at present the home of the Dorobo."

It was by the clearing of the forest that the Nyeri Kikuyu obtained their agricultural land and they must certainly have met the Dorobo in the process. This is borne out by another note of the same date in the same record: "The Kikuyu may not intermarry with the Dorobo". This injunction may have been operative at the time it was recorded but there seems to have been considerable intermarriage in earlier times. [582]

The Nyeri Kikuyu, however, told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo were among the Masai, not among themselves. Yet there were men present at the baraza who knew perfectly well that the Dorobo had quite recently lived just north of them and had had considerable intercourse with them from time to time and that, in fact, there was quite a lot of Dorobo blood in their own veins. The evidence, native and non-native, given to the Land Commission makes this quite clear. Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum refers to the Dorobo called Ndigiri, who, he says, claim to be of pure Dorobo descent and

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"to have occupied the land along both banks of the Ahoni[1] or Amboni River. They intermarried and traded in famine years with the Kikuyu, and cannot remember having come from any other part of the country. For the most part, they lived apart, hunting in the /65/ Loldaika Hills. Between 1905 and 1912, when the alienation of land to Europeans took place, they were pressed northwards to their hunting grounds, and eventually settled down with the Mukogodo, having acquired cattle from the Masai and early traders, such as Mr. John Boyes. They included the El Choki plains within their grazing area. Their language is similar to Masai."

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Mr. John Boyes told the Commission of a meeting between himself, a Dorobo chief Olomondo, and the Kikuyu chief Wangombe, and Wangombe's son Ndirango, in a memorandum to the Commission, speaks of "Chief Olemondo of Dorobo of Donkeys". The Dorobo referred to are clearly the Ndigiri[1], that being the common Kikuyu word for 'donkeys'.

The "Dorobo Committee" classified the Loldigiri among the group living north of Laikipia and Mr. Huntingford puts the Digiri among the true Dorobo of his Eastern Group.

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1. The Gaki Kikuyu also call this river Honi. Ahoni in Kikuyu means "the Honi people", and honi may be related to an original Nyika stem foni (f bilabial) which, prefixed by n, would give mboni in Ndia and honi in Kikuyu. Some relationship between the Ndigiri and the Coast Boni might possibly be indicated.

1. Perhaps it was among the Dorobo that the Kikuyu first saw donkeys, which appear to have been unknown to the Bantu tribes of the Unit until comparatively recently. A Nyeri elder told me that the Ndigiri used donkeys instead of women for the transport of the meat of animals killed in the chase.

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[231]

/65 cont'd/

The Ndigiri may have been on the eastern side of the mountain as well. An old man from Igoji told me that the Dorobo formerly thereabouts were known as the Ndigiri or Mokuru, and there is a place in Imenti called "Muromo-Ntigiri" - "Doorway of the Ndigiri" - said to be on the track by which the Ndigiri migrated northwards, though the name might possibly refer to nothing but a path once used for donkey transport. 101 ●

It is possible, indeed, that the Ndigiri are (or were) very widespread in the eastern half of Kenya, for it seems unreasonably not to identify them with the Wadegere of the southern coast, of whom Captain C.T. Davenport, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, says:

> "The aboriginal inhabitants of the (Duruma) country were a tribe of hunters called Wadegere, who, but for two or three small settlements where their language is still spoken, are extinct, either through disease or through absorption by the surrounding tribes; probably the latter".

Possibly the Ndighiri "clan" of the Taveta are also Ndigiri Dorobo in origin.

75. Dorobo and Metume Kikuyu 101 648

The Fort Hall Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee:-

> "There were no Lorobo here" (i.e. when the Kikuyu arrived) "the nearest were on the Mau".

But Commander Lawford appears to have been informed a good many years before, when he was District Commissioner, Fort Hall, that "in years long past" the Kikuyu country, then being forest, was "in the tenure of Wanderobo"[2], and, earlier still, Mr. L. Talbot Smith, who was District Commissioner from 1908 to 1910, recorded in the Political Record that

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2. Quoted by Beech, loc. cit.

/66/

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"The various members of the several tribes with the exception of the Anderobo appear to have been driven to what is now known as Kikuyu country by stress of famine and found it occupied by Anderobo. The Anderobo seem to have received these emigrants hospitably and to have sold them shambas which were originally demarcated by planting 'kihutia' shoots and which growing up formed permanent landmarks, the shambas to this day descending from father to son. In the course of time owing to the gradual spreading of the Kikuyu shambas the bulk of the Anderobo were driven from the country".

76. Dorobo and Karura Kikuyu

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In regard to the territory south of the Chania River (the present Kiambu District) it may be said with confidence that the forest areas (much more extensive then than now) were in the occupation, probably somewhat sparse, of a Dorobo people at the time of the Kikuyu influx. The Kiambu Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee that:

"In the very first place the country about here was occupied by Wanderobo who were hunters ... There were Dorobo in this District as far as the Chania".

The Committee recorded the opinion that "the Kiambu District was certainly the last to be occupied and Dorobo were hunting over it."

Dr. L.S.B. Leakey, in his study of the Southern Kikuyu, has recorded a number of facts and opinions concerning the Dorobo with whom the Kikuyu came into contact. The following are extracts:

"There is no record that the Wanderobo hunting tribe were ever in effective occupation of that part of the country" i.e. the Fort Hall area, "and the only previous inhabitants seem to have been a tribe called by the Kikuyu Gumba, or Maitho a Ciana. These people, from all accounts, must have been a pygmy race, few in numbers, and having no organised land occupation even for hunting purposes.

/66 cont'd/

"South of the Chania river the position was very different, a few families of Gumba were living here and there in the forest - a fact which even the Wanderobo admit - but they were merely wanderers eking out a precarious existence and hiding from the real owners, the Wanderobo. 101 174

"The Wanderobo were, like the Gumba, a hunting people, but it would seem that they were much more organised and according to their own tradition they had even, in the dim past, definite laws or customs relating to hunting rights... [224]

"The Kikuyu described the Wanderobo as the Athi a Githaka or 'Rulers of the Bush land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Nderubu, which was the name by which they were known to the Masai. 101

"The word Wanderobo has been used by Europeans in Kenya to describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest zones of the Kenya Highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and custom and language. For the purpose of this study we must concern ourselves only with that tribe called Wanderobo by the Europeans, which inhabited the forest lands which later were bought by the Kikuyu, and the descendants of whom are still living in the forest on the boundary of Kikuyu country in the Kijabe region and northwards on to the slopes of the Aberdare mountains. Today only some two or three hundred individuals are left to represent the Wanderobo of this area, and most of them have a greater or less proportion of Kikuyu blood in their veins, but /67/ they still retain many customs which are quite different to those of the Kikuyu and they still speak among themselves a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them also speak Kikuyu, but with a marked accent. [131] [131] [162] [144] [191]

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [177]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

/68 cont'd/

Aberdares and at Kijabe. In Mr. Huntingford's classification they are presumably included in the Masai group, called Kidong, or in the Kikuyu group, called Digiri. 101 ● 174

79. It is probable that the Dorobo who lived well inside the forests south of the Chania were entirely independent of any other tribe until the Kikuyu arrived and occupied their country and gradually turned them into the half-absorbed, half-expelled people now known as the Kikuyu Dorobo, but that those living in the fringes of the forest and carrying their hunting expeditions into the plains were already under the influence -- almost under the aegis, if not the suzerainty -- of the Masai. We find them referred to occasionally as the Kaputiei Dorobo and it is not altogether too much of a strain on the imagination to suppose that the /69/ relationship was really not so much one of symbiosis or semi-dependence as one of common origin but different culture, the Dorobo and the Kaputiei representing respectively the section of a tribe which had preferred to remain in its original state of untrammelled freedom and the section of the same tribe which had assumed a pastoral life and had had a Masai militarism thrust upon it, and had as well perhaps absorbed a modicum of the Masai blood. Such a flight of the imagination would merely bring us nearer to Mr. Cardale Luck's hypothesis that the "Kabti" Masai were originally Dorobo, and possibly serve to explain the Kikuyu name of "Andu a Kabete" for the most southerly section of themselves, of whom he says, "There is a third group generally called the Kabete Kikuyu ... who have intermarried with Masai, mainly Kabte, and with their Dorobo". The word Kabte (or Kapte) certainly has more of a Nandi (and consequently, perhaps, Dorobo) than Masai flavour, and it is among the Southern Kikuyu that the two guilds, to which Hobley called attention and which he named the Kikuyu and the Masai, with differing customs in certain aspects of the social life, such as initiation, are particularly intermixed. The Kikuyu call the latter the Ukabi guild, wherein we see perhaps a recurrence of the same stem kap, though the word ukabi has generally been related to the Swahili ukwavi, derived by Bader from the Masai stem ngop. The Rev. Canon Leakey, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, said:

101 648 174 101

/69 cont'd/

"... the late Rev. W.A. McGregor ... had been living ... latterly on the Church Missionary Society Station which he founded and called Kihurukoini, and which later I renamed Kabete, reintroducing an old but almost lost Kikuyu name",

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which suggests that the alternative to "Andu a Karura" was based on an old tribal or sub-tribal name rather than on the name of some physiographical feature[1]. On these grounds it might be argued that though the predominating factor in the ethnological make-up of the southernmost Kikuyu is an influx of Kikuyu proper from Metume the people recognize (or used to recognize) a very considerable element of Kaputiei (Kabete, perhaps the same as Kwavi) blood, which may itself have had its origin in a Dorobo tribe[2]. The similarity of the word Kabete to the names of Dorobo clans may be significant.

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1. The actual place originally called Kabete is an open piece of ground in the vicinity, where water stands after the rains.

2. The following is an extract from Chief Koinange's evidence before the Land Commission: "... most of the Kaputei warriors were killed. Those who remained came to the Kikuyu and asked that they should be allowed to live amongst them at Kamiti. Their guide was Thianga and he was a Kikuyu originally, and another man also called Ndegwa wa Kamiti, stepbrother of Thianga. The chief of these Kaputei Masai is also a Kikuyu, because he was born in the Kikuyu Reserve. Their clan is called "Raisri", i.e. L'Aiser "by the Masai, and we call this clan Anjiru". This last sentence suggests a recognition of a relationship, but whether of blood or blood-brotherhood is not clear; probably the latter, though the whole passage infers a mixture of blood. In a memorandum to the Commission Chief Koinange remarks: "The Kikuyu took them over and made some ceremonies for internationality ... They are now known as Kaputie Masai, who are regarded as Kikuyu Masai (Kabutii)".

In Facing Mount Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta talks of "... this friendly relationship ... particularly between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu ..."

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

000 Africa, East. Hobley.

Notes concerning the Eldorobo of Mau, British East Africa. 17

By C. W. Hobley, Assoc.M.I.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute.

101 To the east of Nandi country, in the Mau Forest north-east of Mount Tinderet, live
[224] a tribe of so-called Eldorobo people, who, like other branches of their race, exist solely
[233] by hunting, and possess neither flocks nor herds, neither do they cultivate the soil.
[241]
648 By the Nandi they are called the Oggiek, and they call themselves the Omotik.
They have intimate relations with the Eastern Nandi, and generally speak the Nandi
[191] language; in fact, numbers of the young Nandi men, for whom the free hunting life has
[563] a charm, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for some years, and
probably marry Oggiek women. It is thus difficult to discover what is the true
142 aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact
had, however, redder complexions than the majority of the Nandi, and had very peculiar
eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged
5 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

583 Their marriage customs are very simple: the suitor merely presents the father of
the girl with some beer made from the sap of the "mkinde," or wild date palm, and a
few monkey-skin cloaks, or "karosses," and takes away his bride.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

D MN 192 197

—	Dorobo of Tinderet (E. Nandi).	Dorobo of Ravine.	Dorobo of Ndoinet (Doinet).	Nandi.	Masai.
Bread-fruit	mulillo	—	—	—	—
Shamba	—	mwiguk	mwaret	—	en-gurum
Sheep	ridoromut	lechet	gwuth	kigirist	el-barr
Sister (sweet)	wonkito	wonkito	retwet	retwet	en-gurr el-okun
Sister	nipolongomuk	—	—	hitchcho	eng-anaha
Snake	tindop mwrok	tindop mwrok	chogwjet	orwuk	el-nowal
Spear	kkwrwet	tregut	tungut	gwelet	en-bwa; e-wuret
Stick	silwanet	—	—	kirukto	e-lgudi
Stomach	ngulut	—	—	mulet	eng-ologha
Steel	chorigut	—	—	ne-kwrok	el-orighe
Sun	—	engolio	engolium	ilioto	eng-iloig
Supreme being	kobo-tobin	—	—	kwuk	eng-ai
Teeth	mumomuk	kelwet	kelyut	kelilwk	'l-ain (el-chil, sing.)
Thing	—	mumk	olimoto	ko	en-dikl
Tobacco	kipundit	chelongwet	tumbetet	tumetet	el-kumbun, el-chumi kee-'ng-ongok
To-day	—	pwlun	kavungor	—	lumin
To-morrow	—	tun	tungut	mutai	talawo
Tongue	mebit	mwajakit	kwuna	nalelun	el-lepiyo
Tops catalogue	—	kipkorgokus	—	—	—
Tree	kekkevet	kitink; also tarokwet	kuna	kutk	el chumi; en-jani; el-chuna; en-jana (pl., il-kik; 'n-gik)
Vatum	—	kekiniet	—	mugulet	en-gumoo
Wart-hog	—	—	chogi	tarot (pig)	el-kitir (pig)
Water	pelun	pelun	pik	pik	eng-ero
Wimbi	ngurumuk	kek	—	—	il-gook
Wind	—	kijabet	ngirve	koriolo	en-gilapa; en-gidumbe
Woman	—	ngitogot	kawuket	korlinet	e-ligurulyini; en-gituk
Woman (old)	mwarkit	—	—	—	en-dinok; eng-ogho
Woman (young)	tirik	—	—	—	e-nkongiki
Work	—	pulik	ndoko	ngoyini	en-gino
Yes	—	ee	kuluma	wo	ee; ee; ita
Zebra	chelilgok	chemwal	mwuret	ngirist ni ewuk	el-ottigo

D 114 101 614

Note.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neuman (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Easso Nyiro, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mogogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Man.

D 192

Mr. Neuman collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but must confess that up to now this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neuman's vocabulary of the language of the Mogogodo:—

Arrow - - Lagh.
Bad - - - Etiteri.
Bird - - - Lagel.
Blood - - Sogo.
Note.—In Lur language sogo means bone; in The-Leo bone is chogu.
Bone - - - Motobo.
Bow - - - Puko.
Buffalo - - Piko.

Child (of either sex) - - Loyo.
Boy - - - Keti.
Come - - Yoto.
Cooking pot - Duru.
Cow - - - Gwit.
Dog - - - Kuko.
Elephant - - Sogomd.
Father - - - Abasi.
Five - - - Ito.

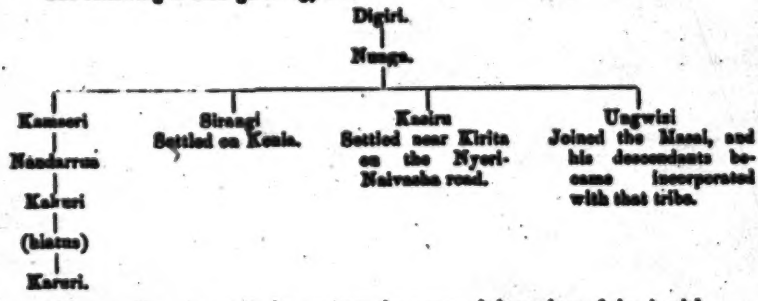
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.*

101 The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiek (or Oggiek) or Ogiechua.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Okiot), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Toroboni).

131 [648] 173 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiek is the Digiri (*see* MAN, 1903, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nunga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiek are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy :—



614 [304] [191] Kameeri, Sirangi, and Kasiru are now the names of three clans of the Aggiek.

Before the Masai came none of the Aggiek circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiek is the ant-bear, which is called Ungaro, they do [262] not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

[173] [648] The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Emoo Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10

D 181

Notes on the Origin and History of the Kikuyu and Dorobo Tribes. *By Hon. K. R. Dundas.*

The earliest inhabitants of the country now occupied by the Kikuyu of whom any reliable information is obtainable were a people who call themselves the Okiek. To the Kikuyu they were known as the Asi,* to the Masai as Il Torobo,† and to the coast people as Wa-Ndorobo, by which name they were also familiarly known to Europeans, though of late the more correct form of Dorobo has taken its place. Curiously enough some writers have recently invented and use a corruption of the Swahili form and style these people Andorobo.

K 104

Who the Kikuyu were, and when they first came into the country which they now occupy, are questions not easily answered. The invasion commenced probably about 80 or 100 years ago and has not entirely ceased even now. Undoubtedly many different tribes impelled to migrate by famines, raids, and the pressure from within and without of increasing population, helped in forming the present Kikuyu race. That they represent a fusion of many different tribes is shown by the numerous types to be

K [144]

* Sing., *Muasi.* † Sing., *Ol Torobosi.*

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6

dead, and to have sacrificed to them: the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Mwaka) to their ancestors. They spoke a Nilotic language*; but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dorobo themselves say that they, the Masai and the Kikuyu, are the descendants of a common ancestral tribe called the Endigiri, and that their ancestors came from beyond Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all three tribes are identical; that, for instance, the Aisakahuno clan is the Mokesen of the Masai; the Anjiro, the Tarosero; the Amboi, the Moiselyan; the Akkachiko, the Aisir; and so forth.

Their Masai name of Il Torobo† might, perhaps, imply that they are descended from a tribe of dwarfs; but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dorobo, such as the Muisi‡ of the bamboo forests of Mount Kenya, the Dorobo in existence at the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Muisi Dorobo may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dorobo are not deficient in intelligence; in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dorobo wisdom and cunning are proverbial amongst the Kikuyu and Masai, who consult them in cases of sickness and accidents.

K. R. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

* It is difficult to account for the peculiar fact that they spoke Nandi. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes now living in East Africa migrated from the north *viâ* Mount Kenya, and passed through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and this may have been the case with the Nandi, Lumbwa, and Sotik, may have settled down in those fertile regions for a period sufficiently lengthy to have impressed their language on the aboriginal inhabitants. It is quite possible that very large areas may have been depopulated during, and afforestated after, such occupations.

† Dorop, *pl.* doropa, means *slave* in Masai.

‡ Endigiri and Muisi are different names for the same people; they are also known to the Kikuyu as Amaithachiana. This name is said by some to have been applied originally to all the Dorobo or Asi. The name Asi itself might possibly mean the rulers, in which case it bears out the theory that the Dorobo were originally the ruling tribe in the country. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that the word Athi, one of East Africa's principal rivers, is possibly the same as Asi, the Kikuyu name for the Dorobo.

According to Mr. MacGregor, of the Church Missionary Society, the name Amaithachiana means *child-stealers*. I think myself, however, that the name means the *fierce little people*, and is derived thus:—Amaithe is the name given by the Kikuyu to a *fierce people*—it is, for instance, their name for the Masai—the word Chiana means *children* or, in a secondary sense, *little people*.

14:Huntingford E-S (1928-1929)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1928 and November 1929 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organization for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

[P.183, A]

Sketch Map of the Kapchepkendi Dandee Country

/3/

M 174 D 174 In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Maasai people came from the north down toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Maasai people.

D 174 [101] The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Aná, more generally known under the name of Wandorobo /Wandorobbo/ (a Bantu formation from the Maasai word El dorobo : the poor), of whom they form only a part.

D [233] Although the tradition of the Aná has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, D [648] finally, the pressure by the Teuso weakened the Aná to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Maasai, the El kunyi, the first sections of which were the El kunono, and the later ones the El molí, when it came in, to drive out the colored ones altogether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturists, with whom they emerged, another part among their D [224] [735] oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

M 174 184 [731] The fate of the Aná, however, was not to be spared the El kunyi either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Teuso for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the cow misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El molí (sing. el molí), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Teuso, who in plenty were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the belligerency of the Maasai. They joined the El kunyi for the common fight against the former.

Ib Archer--SOE C-6 (1895-ca.1909) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Draft
Dorobo FL6 •
Asa

/222/ Third Part

I.

The Wandorobbo of the three branches of the Masai people.

The customs of the Wakwafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of the Wandorobbo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people

and to pronote the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobbo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an earlier hunting people -- who embraced the sun cult.

The Asa were from the oldest epoch, the El mill from the middle one, and the El gumuruk from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobbo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.